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will bring restitution, and that is why they have not lost faith in their paper currency, which in spite of its increase retains its full purchasing power." Moreover, past experience should have taught us to distrust not merely the German militarists, but also the German Socialists, many of whom are at bottom Pan-Germanists, and who have the military spirit in the very blood of their race. Into the war the whole German people flung themselves, body and soul; they must bear their responsibility, and, republican or not, they must be both severely dealt with and must continue to be distrusted by the rest of the world.

M. Chéradame's statement of the peace terms that ought to be imposed is clear, definite, and bold. As to territorial rearrangements, the author is in general accord with the ideas expressed by Colonel Roosevelt and by Senator Lodge, but he points out the difficulties, the danger spots, and the opportunities, with a clearness and definiteness possible only to a life-long student of the mid-European situation. As to reparations and indemnities, he voices the just claims of France, which Americans should be the last to question. As to the necessity of completely crushing German militarism M. Chéradame undoubtedly expresses the prevailing American temper of mind. In regard to this, "thorough" is the word! His warnings as to the real nature of German Bolshevism and as to the dangers of a league for peace give answers to questions just now arising in many minds. This book of M. Chéradame's should, therefore, do much to crystalize American sentiment on the points of real importance. The author's eminently practical and concrete way of thinking, coupled with his unmistakable enthusiasm for ideals that are realizable, ought to give his words easy entrance into American minds.

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FRANCE FACING GERMANY. Speeches and Articles by Georges Clemenceau. Translated from the French by Ernest Hunter Wright. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

In order to understand the spirit of a people, the shortest way, and one of the best ways, is to study the minds of the men who lead that people and the nature of the eloquence that really moves them. And so without undervaluing the many excellent interpretations of French fighting spirit, of French unanimity, and of French loftiness of motive, that have been given to American readers, one may say that no work of more lasting significance as affording insight into the soul of the nation has appeared than the collected speeches and occasional articles of the Premier Georges Clemenceau.

What has impressed foreign observers in France is the *humanity* of the French army and people—a quality that appears to be at the root of their unconquerable resistance. This "humanity"—characteristic of an advanced civilization—seems, in the writings of Clemenceau, to be founded, curiously enough, in a deep disillusionment, which is, however, still more strangely (as it would seem to Americans) coupled with a devoted idealism.

Try to conceive of an American statesman addressing the people, or any considerable body of the people, in words like these:

"The absolute ideal is not given to man; we know that but too

well. The most ignorant among us has received assurances that what we call *truth* is but an elimination, more or less complete, of errors. In the hours of crisis, modesty is imposed upon our declarations. Do you not admire the way in which every one, at the first sign of the general peril tacitly took for his dominant principle the obligation to subordinate everything to duties so all-important that they pass even beyond the interest of the country, since the future of the race is involved in them?"

Translated into the terse and emotional Anglo-Saxon idiom, this does not seem so strange. It means simply: Truth is relative; but all Frenchmen fought for the truth as God gave them to see the truth, and in this there is absolute grandeur. But such translation does not altogether bridge the gap. The French mind certainly seems to perceive the relativity of things with extraordinary clearness, with a certain sadness, and yet with a singular exaltation.

Any approach to a true disillusion—sign of an advanced development of *humanity*—confers insight. Can any one fail to see in these pages of Clemenceau's that in a Frenchman skepticism, realism, may be consistent with a practical faith that leads to the utmost self-sacrifice—a faith all the purer because skepticism has purged it of material elements. Faith in itself is good—it is perhaps in a sense necessary; but when a man can say to himself, "I do not know; I see no certainties; but I will die for my country," has he not taken a step upward in the scale of being?

The point of view expressed by Clemenceau could lead to no errors because it does not bind men to disregard truths, or impose the labor of being at all times optimistic. It clears the eyes to see material facts and to perceive calmly and ironically those immaterial facts, the thoughts and motives of one's enemies. It is eminently a civilized point of view.

The eloquence dictated by this way of thinking has at once a curious pathos and a strange sternness. "And you," he said to the people early in 1913, "your France, your Paris, your village, your field, your high-road, your little rill, all of that tumult of history from which you emerge, since it is the work of your forefathers, is it then nothing to you, and will you without emotion hand over that soul, from which your soul is sprung, to the fury of a foreigner?" Than this passage nothing could be more concrete, more practical and yet more elevated. The plea is directed not so much to conscience as to the motives that underlie conscience. In order to understand the attitude of France in regard to the peace terms now under discussion it is necessary to grasp this peculiar blending of actual and immaterial values. The soldiers of France, said Clemenceau, as early as December, 1914, "have not exerted more than human virtues in order to serve as a theme for popular speech-making. They have determined to do something that counts. They are inspired by the idea that aroused their ancestors—the creation of a new Europe for the better uses of humanity, and a higher life. They will accept no German peace and leave behind them conditions pregnant with disaster. A French peace, a peace that will establish a lasting destiny for Europe by reducing to impotence the leaders of savagery, that is the peace desired by our soldiers."